

Message Text

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COME-00 OIC-02 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 OES-07 USIE-00 /094 W
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O R 030610Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5603
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USIA WASHDC
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 1780

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
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SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE-DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, MARCH 2

SUMMARY: VIRTUALLY ALL DELEGATIONS ARE AGREED ON A DRAFT CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT INTRODUCED FORMALLY INTO PLENARY THIS AFTERNOON BY
DENMARK. IT IS VERY CLOSE TO TEXT CIRCULATED BY DANES FEB 28
THOUGH THERE HAS BEEN SOME EDITING. ONE ADDITION --
AND ESSENTIALLY ONLY NEW SUBSTANCE THAT THE ENTIRE DOCUMENT WILL

CONTAIN -- IS AN EXPERTS MEETING FOR MEDITERRANEAN WITH MANDATE LIMITED TO ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL SUBJECTS. MALTESE HAVE NOT YET INDICATED, HOWEVER, WHETHER THEY WILL ACCEPT THIS SCALED-DOWN OFFER. KEY HOLDOUTS ARE ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, WHO REMAIN UNHAPPY AT FAILURE TO OBTAIN AN EXPERTS MEETING IN MILITARY AREA. LARGE NUMBER OF SPEAKERS FROM BOTH EAST AND WEST SPOKE IN FAVOR OF DOCUMENT AT TODAY'S PLENARY, AND PRESSURE WILL BECOME INTENSE ON LAST DELEGATIONS TO GIVE THEIR CONSENSUS WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS. END SUMMARY.

1. AMB GOLDBERG AND DANISH AMB, AS WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES, AGREED INFORMALLY WITH SOVIET AMB EARLY EVENING MARCH 1 ON A DRAFT DOCUMENT THAT WAS ESSENTIALLY SAME AS DANISH FEBRUARY 28 PAPER EXCEPT FOR ADDITION OF MEDITERRANEAN GROUP. IT INCLUDES SEPT 9, 1980 AND NOV 11, 1980 DATES FOR MADRID PREPARATORY AND MAIN MEETINGS RESPECTIVELY, AND INCORPORATES FOOTNOTED REFERENCE TO BELGRADE PROCEDURES (YELLOW BOOK) AS ONE OF BASES FOR MADRID.

2. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS HAD CONCLUDED THAT AN EXPERTS MEETING STRICTLY LIMITED IN TIME (FOUR WEEKS) AND MANDATE (ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION) SHOULD BE OFFERED TO MALTESE AS BOTTOM LINE CONCESSION IN EFFORT TO REMOVE THEM FROM RANKS OF THOSE THREATENING TO BLOCK CONSENSUS. SOVIETS, CONSIDERING MALTESE TO BE A WESTERN PROBLEM, HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN A RELAXED ATTITUDE ON MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES
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IN CSCE. WESTERN REPS AND SOVIETS WERE IN FURTHER AGREEMENT THAT THERE WAS NO CHANCE TO CLOSE GAP BETWEEN VARIOUS POSITIONS ON MILITARY EXPERTS GROUP AND THAT IF AGREEMENT WAS TO BE REACHED WITHIN REASONABLE TIME ON CONCLUDING DOCUMENT SUBJECT WOULD HAVE TO BE OMITTED.

3. AT MARCH 1 EVENING CONTACT GROUP, MALTESE EXPRESSED PLEASURE THAT DANISH PAPER HAD BEEN MODIFIED TO INCLUDE MEDITERRANEAN GROUP, BUT THEY RESERVED POSITION ON MANDATE. WHILE APPEARING TO ACCEPT THAT MEETING WOULD BE AT EXPERTS LEVEL AND LIMITED IN DURATION, MALTESE REP SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS THAT WOULD HAVE OPENED MANDATE UP TO POLITICAL/SECURITY SUBJECTS. ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, WITH SUPPORT FROM SWEDES, CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT A MILITARY GROUP WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED. SOVIETS APPEARED TO BACKTRACK A BIT FROM EARLIER AGREEMENT BY EXPRESSING SYMPATHY FOR IDEA PROVIDED THAT LARGER SECURITY-DISARMAMENT SUBJECTS AND NOT JUST CBMS COULD BE DISCUSSED. YUGOSLAVS MADE EFFORT TO REVIVE FORMULA THEY HAD FLOATED IN THEIR FEB 23 INFORMAL PAPER.

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4. ALLIED CAUCUS AGREED MARCH 2 THAT YUGOSLAV FORMULA WAS NOT
ACCEPTABLE, AND THAT THERE WAS NO PROSPECT OF ALLIES BEING ABLE
IN EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES TO GIVE AGREEMENT TO ANY
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CONCEIVABLE MILITARY EXPERT GROUP AT BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVS
AND ROMANIANS, HOWEVER, MAINTAINED THEIR TOUGH POSITIONS AT FURTHER
AMBASSADORIAL CONTACT GROUP SESSION LATER IN MORNING. AFTER THAT

MEETING ADJOURNED, TWO WESTERN NEGOTIATORS MET SEPARATELY WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR, WHO, AFTER A FEW EFFORTS TO GO BACK ON SOME PROVISIONS OF PREVIOUS NIGHT'S TEXT, SETTLED FOR CHANGING ORDER OF SEVERAL SENTENCES. THREE AMBASSADORS AGREED TO HAVE TEXT TABLED IN AFTERNOON PLENARY AND TO LINE UP MAXIMUM NUMBER OF SPEAKERS IN FAVOR OF IT IN ORDER TO PUT PRESSURE ON LAST HOLDOUTS. SOVIET AMBASSADOR PROMISED THAT EAST WOULD NOT FURTHER YIELD TO TEMPTATION TO PLAY GAMES ON MILITARY EXPERT GROUP PROPOSAL.

5. DANISH AMB INTRODUCED TEXT TO PLENARY WITH CANDID ADMISSION THAT NO ONE WOULD BE FULLY SATISFIED. HE NOTED IT WAS MINIMALIST TEXT BUT THAT IT HAD GREAT VIRTUE OF ENABLING MEETING TO ARRIVE AT DIGNIFIED, CONSTRUCTIVE CONCLUSION THAT WOULD HAVE POSITIVE RESULT FOR CONTINUATION OF CSCE PROCESS. ALTHOUGH SOME DO NOT YET HAVE DEFINITIVE INSTRUCTIONS, ALL NATO DELS EXCEPT FRENCH SPOKE ALONG SAME LINES, URGING THAT TEXT BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT CHANGES AS BEST THAT COULD BE OBTAINED IN CIRCUMSTANCES AND THAT MEETING BE BROUGHT TO QUICK CONCLUSION. IRISH REP MADE SIMILAR STATEMENT.

6. IN HIS REMARKS, AMB GOLDBERG GAVE TEXT FULL SUPPORT AND URGED ITS ADOPTION. HE SAID THAT IT LACKED MUCH THAT WAS IMPORTANT TO U.S. INCLUDING REFERENCES TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS, BUT THAT BASIC ISSUE WAS TO AGREE ON DOCUMENT THAT WOULD CONTINUE CSCE PROCESS. HE URGED DELS TO AVOID TEMPTATION TO TRY TO AMEND TEXT AND UPSET ITS BALANCE. PLAIN FACT, HE SAID, IS THAT CONFERENCE IS AT END OF ROAD; THE PROCESS MUST BE PRESERVED FOR FUTURE, AND IT WAS NO TIME TO QUIBBLE OVER WORDING CHANGES. HE CONCLUDED BY URGING DELS TO LOOK FORWARD WITH HOPE, NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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BACKWARD WITH RECRIMINATION, AND SAID THAT BELGRADE HAD PRESERVED COMMON GROUND OF FINAL ACT ON WHICH IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO BUILD ON WAY TO MADRID AND AT MADRID. HE SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO CLOSE MEETING "IN SPIRIT OF REALISM AND FRIENDLY COOPERATION."

7. SOVIETS LINED UP ALL THEIR ALLIES EXCEPT ROMANIA. IN GENERAL EASTERN SPEAKERS TOOK APPROACH SIMILAR TO THAT OF WESTERN COLLEAGUES, NOTING THAT THEY REGRETTED ABSENCE OF MORE SUBSTANCE IN DOCUMENT, BUT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO BE REALISTIC AND TO CONCLUDE MEETING ON POSITIVE NOTE. SOVIET REP SAID THAT HE BELIEVED DANISH DOCUMENT "WILL ALLOW US TO END THE BELGRADE MEETING IN A POSITIVE MANNER AND THAT WE WILL START ON A POSITIVE NOTE IN MADRID." ALTHOUGH EASTERN SPEAKERS AVOIDED SAYING THAT DANISH TEXT COULD NOT BE AMENDED IN SOME AREAS AND DESCRIBED IT GENERALLY AS BASIS FOR ENDING MEETING, ONLY CZECH REP, HARD LINE AS ALWAYS, TRIED FOR DEBATING POINTS BY EXPRESSING "SURPRISE" THAT THERE WAS NO MILITARY EXPERTS GROUP.

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8. ROMANIAN REP SAID THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS WOULD NOT PERMIT
HIM TO GIVE CONSENSUS TO DOCUMENT BECAUSE THERE WAS NO MILITARY
EXPERTS GROUP AND THERE WAS NEED FOR IMPROVEMENTS ON GENERAL
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FOLLOW-UP PROVISIONS. (HE WISHES TO RECOVER GROUND LOST MARCH 1 WHEN SOVIET REP WITHDREW AGREEMENT TO REFERRING TO HOLDING OF FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS AT "APPROPRIATE INTERVALS".) YUGOSLAV REP TOOK SLIGHTLY Milder POSITION SAYING THAT DOCUMENT COULD BE BASIS FOR FUTURE WORK, THAT HE WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS AND ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE DEFINITIVE VIEWS MARCH 3. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT DOCUMENT WAS STILL OPEN TO IMPROVEMENTS. HE ADMITTED DISAPPOINTMENT AT LIMITED NATURE OF DOCUMENT WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO POLITICAL ATTITUDES "CONNECTED WITH MUTUAL CONFIDENCE" WHICH HIS DEL WOULD HAVE TO ANALYZE FURTHER. MALTESE KEPT SILENT. AUSTRIAN AND SWEDISH REP EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT SCANTY NATURE OF DOCUMENT BUT MADE NON-COMMITTALLY POSITIVE SOUNDS. OTHER NNA DID NOT SPEAK, BUT DRAFT PICKED UP SUPPORT FROM SPANISH REP WHO SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO GIVE CONSENSUS SINCE "HOUR OF TRUTH HAS COME." VATICAN REP SAID HE WOULD REFER I FAVORABLY TO AUTHORITIES.

9. OUTLOOK NOW IS FOR PRESSURE TO BUILD ON THREE MAIN HOLD-OUT DELEGATIONS. ALLIES AND, WE BELIEVE, SOVIETS, INTEND TO MAINTAIN POSITION THAT DOCUMENT CAN NOT BE OPENED UP TO AMENDMENT WITHOUT RUNNING RISK THAT ITS WHOLE STRUCTURE WOULD CRUMBLE. ONE EXCEPTION IS MEDITERRANEAN PARAGRAPH, WHICH ALLIES BELIEVE WILL REQUIRE AN ADDITIONAL SENTENCE DEALING WITH NATURE OF ROLE SOUTHERN LITTORAL STATES ARE TO HAVE AT EXPERTS MEETING. MALTESE MAY WISH TO BARGAIN FOR LANGUAGE INDICATING THAT SOUTHERN LITTORAL STATES WILL HAVE MORE NEARLY EQUAL RIGHTS AT EXPERTS MEETING THAN THEY HAD AT GENEVA AND BELGRADE. ALLIES WOULD HOPE TO KEEP CONTRIBUTION FORMULA HITHERTO USED. ALLIES ARE AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT IF MALTESE WILL NOT ACCEPT MANDATE THAT EXCLUDES POLITICAL QUESTIONS DEAL WILL BE OFF AND MALTESE WILL GET NO EXPERTS GROUP.

10. ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS MAY BE TEMPTED TO SIT IT OUT FOR
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AWHILE TO SEE WHETHER IN END THEY, LIKE MALTESE, CAN EXTRACT A LATE CONCESSION BY THREATENING TO WITHHOLD CONSENSUS INDEFINITELY. THERE IS SOME LOGIC TO SUCH A TACTIC AND CONVERSELY SOME DIFFICULTY EXPLAINING WHY A MINIMALIST DOCUMENT SHOULD INCLUDE CONCRETE MOVEMENT ONLY IN AN AREA LIKE MEDITERRANENA THAT IS, TO MOST PARTICIPATING STATES, MARGINAL TO CSCE PROCESS. PROBLEM ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS FACE IS THAT THE AREA OF THEIR INTEREST IS ONE WHERE POSITIONS OF MAJOR PARTICIPANTS ARE SO FAR APART THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THEY CAN AGREE ON ANYTHING MORE THAN TO DISAGREE -- AND THUS TO AVOID SUBJECT IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT ENTIRELY. THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THIS POINT IS ALREADY GETTING ACROSS TO YUGOSLAVS. SITUATION IS PAINFUL FOR THEM AND PARTICULARLY FOR ROMANIANS, BUT MOST DELS BELIEVE DOCUMENT WILL BE ACCEPTED WITHIN A FEW DAYS.

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